



## NEWS UPDATE, 27th December 1989

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## TIN / News Update / December 22, 1989 / London

### **Troops and field guns used to deter December 10th Protests**

The Chinese moved thousands of extra troops into the Tibetan quarter of Lhasa to stop Tibetans demonstrating on December 10th. One eyewitness said he saw troops stationed shoulder to shoulder around the Barkhor, the 1-kilometre long alleyway surrounding the Jokhang, Tibet's most sacred temple and the scene of nearly thirty demonstrations in the last two years.

The eyewitness, who described the scene as "unbelievable", said that he estimated several thousand troops were involved in the exercise. All of the extra soldiers were, he claimed, from the 52nd battalion of the PLA. This is the Sichuan-based unit which undertook the original invasion of Tibet from the East in 1949.

He reported that soldiers armed with automatic weapons took up sniper positions on every rooftop overlooking the Barkhor. Dozens of jeep-type vehicles, each with a field gun built on to the chassis, were stationed in the Jokhang Square and along adjacent roads.

The army are now using at least one tank in Lhasa, he reported. Since March they have been using Armoured Personnel Carriers, similar to those deployed in Tiananmen Square. TIN has photographs of these vehicles in use in Lhasa. But this is the first indication that tanks are also active in the Tibetan capital.

### **More Pass Laws**

Administrative methods were also used to deter Tibetans from demonstrating on December 10th, anniversary of the shooting of several protesters celebrating International Human Rights Day in 1988, and also the day the Dalai Lama received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo.

From December 9th no Tibetans were allowed to enter the Barkhor without a special pass - even though, under martial law restrictions in force since March 8th 1989, everyone in Lhasa already has to carry up to three different passes to get through army checkpoints at major crossroads.

Residents of the Barkhor were only allowed to move in their own part of the Barkhor, and shopkeepers were obliged to keep their stalls and shops open even though no customers were allowed in the area. On previous occasions shopkeepers have closed down as a mark of protest; many were closed again on December 10th, despite the order.

Another source in Lhasa said that from December 5th officials stopped all Tibetans resident outside Lhasa from entering the capital.

It is reported that the Lhasa Government also declared December 10th, which this year fell on a Sunday, a normal working day. All major demonstrations in Tibet in the last two years have taken place on weekends, when it is harder for the authorities to discover who has been involved in protests by checking out afterwards who was absent from work.

Other unconfirmed reports claimed that a large number of illegal wall posters had been put up in the University in Lhasa. This suggests growing politicisation amongst Tibetan students.

### **Demonstrations outside the Barkhor**

According to an unattributed article in the Washington Post, published on December 21st, there were pro-independence demonstrations in Lhasa on December 7th, 9th and 10th. Apart from saying that these took place outside the Barkhor, the paper gave no further detail. But it described a demonstration in the Barkhor on December 5th by a small group of monks, all of whom were arrested.

The article put the number of political prisoners in Lhasa jails at "over 680".

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## **TIN / news update / London / 8th December 1989**

### **Long Jail Sentences for Tibetan Democracy Group - First Tibetan Political Manifesto reaches the West**

The Chinese authorities have condemned eleven Tibetan to up to 19 years in jail for printing dissident leaflets.

At a mass sentencing rally in Lhasa, Tibet, on 30th November five of the Tibetans were given between 17 and 19 years in jail for calling for independence for Tibet. The authorities said the five had formed a counter-revolutionary organisation based at Drepung Monastery, 6 kilometres west of Lhasa. There they had produced "reactionary literature" which attacked the Chinese Government and "venomously slandered the people's democratic dictatorship."

A large number of groups are active in Tibet producing dissident leaflets and mimeographed posters, and at least two other alleged underground publishers are at present awaiting trial in Tibet. One, Tashi Tsering, from Shigatse, is a senior public figure trusted by the Chinese enough to have been appointed to the prestigious Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee in Shigatse. He has been charged with producing 73 slogans and leaflets calling for independence.

A number of leaflets produced by the Drepung group have recently been smuggled out of Tibet to the Tibet Information Network, an independent monitoring group based in London.

These show that the group was consistently non-violent in its approach, and usually confined itself to reporting on recent dissident activity in Tibet. One broadsheet, designed to be stuck on walls in Lhasa, describes, without exaggeration, how many Tibetans had been shot dead by police at a pro-independence demonstration the week before. Another informs Tibetans in detail about anti-Chinese sanctions proposed in the US Congress. A third is a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

#### **First Tibetan Political Manifesto Reaches the West**

The most important document to have reached the west is a detailed political manifesto produced by the Drepung group during the last year. This shows clearly that Tibetans in Tibet have an express commitment to constitutional democracy, and it describes at length a parliamentary system reflecting "the free will of the people."

Although the Chinese have repeatedly accused Tibetans of wanting to recreate the pre-1950s social system, the manifesto makes it clear that Tibetans have no intention of "reviving the old society". It emphasises that a future Tibet would be not only democratic, but would be run on secular as well as religious principles. It rejects any dynastic system, and emphasises that power must be exercised by representatives elected by all Tibetans, not just any particular class or group.

The document, which uses traditional principles of Buddhist dialectic to analyse the concept of democracy, emphasises the Tibetans' legal right to self-determination and to a fully democratic system. It avoids any incitement to anti-Chinese feeling, calling instead on Tibetans to fight "with inner strength" and calling for an end to "foreign domination".

The manifesto is believed to be the first clear statement of the political aspirations of the Tibetans inside Tibet, and confirms reports that the issue is becoming steadily more politicised and sophisticated.

#### **The Drepung Samizdat Group**

The Drepung group was led by a 28 year old monk, Ngawang Buchung, who comes from the Doelungdechen, a rural area 15 kilometres to the west of Lhasa. The Chinese say he started the group in January 1989 with 21 year old Ngawang Osel from Drigung.

Both monks, together with five of the others sentenced last week, were among the 21 monks who began the current wave of unrest in Tibet. They staged a small pro-independence demonstration in

the centre of Lhasa on 27th September 1989. They were arrested immediately. Four days later three thousand lay Tibetans staged a massive protest against the imprisonment of peaceful demonstrators; at least 8 died when police opened fire.

The 21 were released in January 1988 following mass coverage of the affair in the international press, as well as personal intervention from the Panchen Lama, at the time the senior Tibetan official working with the Chinese. But before their release the monks were forced to sign confessions admitting to political crimes and accepting Chinese sovereignty over Tibet.

The Drepung group continued to produce samizdat literature from the monastery, which has 400 monks, despite being under constant surveillance. "From March 5th [1988] onwards we were told by cadres, "we are investigating here; you must confess or you will be thrown in jail." ", said one of the Group leaders in a secret interview shortly before their arrest.

From 3rd September 1988, anticipating further unrest, officials from the Work Inspection Unit [Ledun Ruka] began intensive attempts at re-education of the suspect Drepung monks. Three officials were assigned to each monk to conduct the re-education process, mainly geared to proving that Tibet is part of China. Another group member, sentenced last week, reported at the time that he was told, "it won't be easy in prison next time. If you confess well you can stay in the monastery."

In another secret interview one of the monks imprisoned last week described the stresses placed on their religious duties by the political situation. "It is difficult for us to study with so many meetings at the monastery with the political officials," he said. "To study well requires a different kind of mind. But we ourselves have also to be concerned with politics, with independence. So now we are divided between two ways of thinking - one political, the other religious. Only after independence can we be truly monks. but now our minds are divided between politics and religion. We have to do our religious studies, but now our duty is also political work."

The monks sentenced on 30th November were Ngawang Buchung, age 28, (sentenced to 19 years); Ngawang Osel, age 21 (17 years); Kelsang Dudu [probably an error for Kelsang Dhondup or Ngodrup], (18 years); Jampel Chunjor, (19 years); Ngawang Gyaltsen, age 27 (17 years); Jampel Losel, age 27 (10 years); Ngawang Rinchen, age 26, (9 years); Jampel Monlam, age 26 (5 years); Jampel Tsering, age 22 (5 years); Ngawang Gongar (5 years). All were given additional sentences of up to 9 years deprivation of political rights once released from prison, and four were also charged with "espionage" - described by Xinhua as working "for their foreign boss", presumably a reference to the Dalai Lama.

#### **Independent printer sentenced**

The eleventh man charged with printing leaflets was Dhondup Dorje, a 43 year old driver at the Lhasa Shoe and Hat Factory. He spent 9 months at Gutsa prison, following his involvement in a pro-independence demonstration on October 1st 1987. There he was regularly beaten by prison staff, leading in his case to partial deafness. He shared a cell with 20 other prisoners, and was chained hand and foot for the first three months of his sentence. He has now been given a sentence of 5 years for "counter-revolutionary propaganda".

The sentencing rally on 30th November was expected as the Chinese fear further unrest on December 10th, anniversary of police shooting of at least two peaceful demonstrators on the same day last year. It also marks the formal award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in Oslo, an award which has already led to large scale celebrations in Tibet.

The sentences are by far the most severe given for purely political offences since unrest recommenced in 1987, and indicate another policy change by the Chinese authorities.

NB: TIN has photos of the monks and original texts of leaflets

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## TIN / News Update / 20 December 1989 (orig 15th, corrected)

### Tibetan schoolboy sentenced to hard labour

A Tibetan schoolstudent named **Phurbu** has been sent without trial for indefinite "re-education through labour" for putting up pro-independence posters in a Lhasa school. According to Radio Lhasa broadcasts monitored in India by the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, five other students and a teacher have also been accused of counter-revolutionary offences and are awaiting sentencing or trials.

The schoolteacher, **Dawa Dolma**, was accused of writing a "reactionary" song on the school blackboard on September 14th 1989. Her case has been suspended out of special clemency, because she has just had a baby. But officials at Lhasa Public Security Bureau have announced that they will interrogate her later.

This is the first time the Chinese authorities in Tibet have admitted to sentencing juveniles for purely political offences. The sentences and arrests were announced on Radio Lhasa on 8th December, two days before the formal award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama in Oslo. The broadcast emphasised that the indefinite sentence imposed on Phurbu is light compared to those awaiting the five other schoolstudents arrested for spreading counter-revolutionary propaganda.

The six students were detained by the police on 4th November. They were all pupils among the 2,000 at Lhasa's most prestigious school, the No.1 Middle School. This means they are likely to be the children of cadres or Government officials, and aged between 12 and 18. As in all Lhasa secondary schools, except for their Tibetan language classes the children will have been taught entirely in Chinese.

The police say the schoolchildren had put up pro-independence posters in the streets of the city, as well as in their school. They had also made copies of the forbidden Tibetan flag.

The five pupils still awaiting sentence are accused of forming a "counter-revolutionary" organisation, dedicated to Tibetan independence, in the beginning of March this year. The group called themselves 'the Mountain Ranges Youth Association'. Police say the group slandered the Communist Party and the socialist system as well as threatening the unity of the motherland. Their names were given as **Lhakpa Tsering** (senior), **Lhakpa Tsering** (middle) **Pemba Tsering**, **Tashi Wangdu**, and **Migmar Tsering**.

On 8th December Phurbu was sent, without trial, for hard labour. His sentence was described as comparatively light because he had taken part in the activities of the group but had not formally joined their organisation.

The Chinese do not usually specify the length of sentence for offenders under the age of 18, releasing them only when the labour camp governor or local procurator decides the offender's behaviour has improved.

On the same day, charges were announced against Dawa Dolma, formerly a teacher at the Lhasa Cement Factory school. The official account gives some detail of Dawa's crime, and indicates that other pupils joined in with her. "On the morning of 14th September last year," reported Radio Lhasa, "Dawa Dolma wrote a reactionary song on the school blackboard and taught her pupils to write the song and to sing it after her. This constituted the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda." Dawa is also accused of encouraging rioters.

In September a middle-aged Tibetan, **Tsering Ngodrup**, age 57, was sent to prison for 12 years for encouraging young people to sing political songs.

Counter-revolution is the most serious category of crime in Chinese law and in some cases can lay offenders open to capital punishment. Although counter-revolutionary propaganda is not an



executable offence, the report added that the children would be "severely punished" in order "to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship". These words give rise to grave concern about the severity of the sentences likely to be handed down on the remaining five schoolstudents, who are seen as organisers of the dissident group.

This is not the first account of political activity in Lhasa schools. Many children joined some three thousand adults in the first recent protest against Chinese police brutality on October 1st 1987. At least two Tibetan children under the age of twelve were later shot dead when police opened fire into the crowd. Two weeks later a number of schoolpupils are said to have been arrested when they refused to participate in official celebrations of the crushing to the demonstration.

On May 19th 1989 between 200 and 400 school children in Lhasa staged a demonstration and boycotted classes for three days in support of the student demonstrators then camped in Tiananmen Square in Beijing. This group included Chinese immigrant children as well as Tibetans, but must have gained official tolerance by avoiding the independence issue. According to Radio Lhasa, by May 22 they had returned to their classrooms after Party officials "held dialogue with the students and did ideological and political work among them".

#### **Monk Sentenced to 15 years for "Propaganda".**

On 5th December another Tibetan was given a long prison term for purely political offences. The man, named by the Chinese as Luoya - perhaps Chinese for **Lo-gya**? - 39 years old, was a monk at the Potala Palace until his arrest. He has been sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for "the crime of counter-revolutionary propaganda".

His sentencing comes less than one week after eleven Tibetans were sentenced to an average of 15 years imprisonment each. Ten of the prisoners were monks from Drepung Monastery. Like the schoolchildren charged on 8th December, they were also accused of forming an illegal organisation and distributing pro-independence literature.

Like four of those sentenced on 30th November, Luoya was also convicted of passing information to the enemy. He was not described as part of any organisation, but was accused of threatening national unity by instigating the masses to break state laws.

#### **5 monks sentenced to three years hard labour**

Tibet Daily on November 6th published the names of the five monks sentenced without trial to 3 years re-education through labour.

At least four of the monks had taken part in a pro-independence demonstration on October 25th. They were named, according to the Chinese pronunciation, as **Lichuo**, **Pujue**, **Laba**, and **Cheli**. Their ordination names were not given, possibly indicating that they were unofficial monks who had not been allowed by the authorities to register as monks.

All of them come from a monastery described by the Chinese as Pareburu. This is probably a reference to Palhalupuk, the small monastery housing less than thirty monks at the foot of Chakpori, the hill facing the Potala Palace.

Palhalupuk monks were forced against their will early in 1987 to accept in their monastery a pro-Chinese monk to monitor their behaviour. They were also forbidden to study English after a visiting monk from India started to teach them.

The fifth monk sentenced on November 5th was named as "Danzeng" - presumably **Tenzin** - from Ganden monastery. He was accused of having in his possession a Tibetan flag. The flag was said to have been made by another monk, **Dawa Tsering**, who was held for trial on charges of "demonstrating illegally", according to the paper.

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### **Martial Law "Will Continue"**

In an interview on 5th December with the Hong Kong-based paper Wen Wei Po, the senior Tibetan in the Regional Communist Party, announced that martial law "would not be lifted in the near future".

Raidi, deputy secretary of the Regional Party, said that a "tiny number of splittist elements" would try to demonstrate; he added that "we will be soft on them".

On the subject of negotiations, he said China was willing to talk to the Dalai Lama, whom he then went on to describe as "a political tramp" and "not a religious personage in general".

### **No Individual Tourists in Tibet for 2-3 Years**

Chinese Tourist Officials in Lhasa have announced that restrictions preventing individual foreign tourists from travelling in Tibet will not be lifted for another two to three years.

They admitted that until martial law was imposed on the Tibetan capital on March 8th 1989 two thirds of the foreign visitors to Tibet were individual travellers or backpackers. But they reaffirmed their decision since June this year to allow only group tours to enter Tibet.

The minimum size for a group is three, and charges are reported to be in the region of \$800 for a three-day trip. Group tourists have to follow a strict timetable, are only allowed to stay in one of two luxury hotels at least three kilometres from the city, and are accompanied by guides at all times.

The report, issued by Xinhua on 8th December, added that foreign journalists could visit Tibet, but only if they applied for special permission from the local Foreign Affairs Department. All foreign journalists and tourists were expelled by the martial law authorities on March 9th this year.

The report made no distinction between restrictions applying to Lhasa and those applying to the rest of Tibet. Until now it had been assumed that restrictions on individual travel applied only to the capital.

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### **Chinese Development in Tibet: a bigger airport**

Shortly after the announcement in October that the Dalai Lama had won the Nobel Peace Prize, the Chinese Government announced details of 900 mln yuan (\$243 mln) investment in construction projects in Tibet.

On December 10th, the day of the award ceremony, Xinhua announced that the full figure was actually over 1.3bln yn. The apparent increase was due to existing projects being included, such as roads being built to link Nepal and Tibet, already underway for three years.

But the full list in Xinhua's December 10th report included interesting hints at China's plans for Tibet. Besides increasing the road links to Nepal - a new one is planned to open to a Nepalese town called by the Chinese "Dazhuka" - the list shows that 200mln yn has been allocated for improvement works at Lhasa's Gonggar airport, where, by the end of next year, runways will have been extended to 400 metres.

It is not known if the extra runways are needed for a projected increase in military or civilian aircraft.

80 mln yn is being spent to open a chromite mine at a place named by the Chinese as Luobusha. Mining is thought to be high on Beijing's agenda for Tibet, but it is relatively rare for details of mine locations to be published.

### **Potala - renovations or ransack?**

Many Tibetans and others will be concerned that prominent in the list of construction projects is the "renovation of the Potala Palace". Parts of the Potala have been closed for many months already, as Chinese teams work, without independent supervision, on some of the most sacred sections of the Palace. Outsiders have no idea what the "renovation" teams are doing in the locked-off rooms, although at times the Chinese have made various claims, including an attempt to cure woodworm - a disease not previously thought to exist in Lhasa.

Last month, according to reports from Lhasa, the Chinese opened a cave behind the Potala and discovered mummified remains of high lamas who had died in meditation. The cave is said to have been resealed, but not necessarily with all the contents left untouched. The account, which is unconfirmed, indicates the anxiety felt by many Tibetans at the unsupervised interference with their cultural and religious relics.

### **Lhasa - Old City Renovations**

In a move which may also be of ambiguous advantage to Tibetans, the Chinese have announced further investment in "the transformation of the old urban area of Lhasa." This included the flattening of Tibetan houses three years ago to make way for the "piazza"-style square which now allows unobstructed views of the Jokhang Temple. The square may have been designed to impress tourists, but it includes two police stations and a flat-roofed viewing station which has been used frequently to monitor crowds around the temple. Lhasa's original alleyways are mostly too narrow for vehicles; the square has permitted easy control of the heart of the Tibetan quarter.

In 1988 unconfirmed reports from Lhasa alleged that the major rebuilding of houses facing the Barkhor itself was in order to re-lease shops at rents above the level most Tibetans could afford, thus encouraging the turn-over of commerce to non-Tibetan entrepreneurs.

The announcement stresses current work on the provision of a water supply system in the old city. But it also admits that 1,300 families have been moved into new houses since 1979. It says they had to be moved because their houses were "dangerous".

### **New Lhasa nearly 20 times the size of Tibetan Quarter**

On December 6th Xinhua announced that 40 mln yn had been spent over the last ten years in "upgrading rundown houses", affecting 2,400 families in Lhasa as a whole. In a figure which may be an important indicator of the size of the Chinese population of Lhasa, the news agency said that since 1959 housing space in Lhasa had increased by a factor of 12 to 3 mln sq m. The total urban area of Lhasa, it said, is now 40 sq km; thirty years ago it was 2-3 sq km.

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### **Informants Urged to Work Harder**

Officials in Lhasa have been ordered to step up the hunt for citizens whose attitudes are incorrect. In a circular on what it calls "screening and investigation work" the Lhasa Office For Stabilising The Situation has ordered Party cadres and government employees to work much harder at searching out political criminals.

The circular, according to a Radio Lhasa broadcast on 25th November, tells cadres and government employees to work through the neighbourhood committees in order to investigate people. These committees have a similar function for the self-employed as work units do for those who work directly for the Government.

They have a social duty, says the circular, not only to do ideological work, but also to inform against separatists. It specifically reminds them that this is a duty which includes their own family members - they have to inform on them too.

The circular spells out a simple, Orwellian way of assessing who is politically unsound: anyone who



objects to being investigated is suspect. "If anyone is found refusing to carry out the arrangements made by work groups of neighbourhood committees, or is bearing resentment against screening and investigation work either in words or in action, they must be reported immediately to the Office for Stabilising the Situation".

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## TIN / News Update / 13 December 1989 / London

### Britain admits sending envoy to Tibet, snubs Dalai Lama

LONDON December 13th: The British Government is refusing to meet with the exiled Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama. The admission was made today by a Government spokesman in the Lords after concerted questioning from all sides of the House on British policy over Tibet.

This position is bound to lead to political embarrassment for Whitehall, which claims to support non-violent policies but has hosted several leaders of terrorist or violent nationalist struggles in recent months, including Yasser Arafat, Oliver Tambo and Prince Sihanouk.

The Government also admitted that a British official, with three Conservative MPS, had visited Tibet in October, at the invitation of the Chinese Government. Both admissions came barely 48 hours after the Dalai Lama was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, where he was received by the Norwegian King and by the Prime Minister.

Lord Reay, a Government Whip, nevertheless told the Lords that no European leaders had ever met publicly with the Dalai Lama. He justified his Government's point-blank refusal to meet the Nobel laureate by describing such a meeting as "open to misinterpretation" - presumably by the Chinese. This remark brought cries of "disgraceful" from the floor of the chamber.

This is believed to be the first time the British have refused to meet a Nobel Peace Prize Winner. Baroness Elles, a former Conservative M.E.P., asked how many leaders had to meet the Dalai Lama before Mrs Thatcher would be prepared to. Lady Ewart-Biggs, for the Opposition, said the Government's refusal to meet "the one world leader who, at every level of his life and thought, stands for peace" put in doubt their claimed commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflict.

Viscount Mersey, the Conservative peer who led the debate, went further, calling on the Government to honour its agreement to the 1961 UN Resolution on Tibet, which had supported Tibet's right to self-determination.

But the most forceful intervention came from Lord Grimond, who described British policy as 1930s-style appeasement. "We have not been smiling since we appeased Hitler," said the former Liberal leader, directing his remarks at smiling Tories on the Government Front Bench, "and we will not be smiling if we appease China. It never works. It has never worked in history and it will not work now."

The Minister claimed that British disapproval of China's Tibet policies was evident in the EC ban on the sale of arms. Lord Willoughby de Broke, himself a Conservative, pointed out that the Government had licensed the sale of radar equipment to China on September 14th, a fact of which the Minister admitted he was unaware.

Lord Reay, a junior Government official, was speaking in place of Lord Brabazon of Tara, the official spokesman in the Lords on Foreign Affairs. Lord Brabazon's absence was not explained. Last June, when the Tibet question was first due to be raised, the Government had also refused to field Lord Brabazon to answer from the dispatch box.

### **British first to visit martial law Tibet**

The Government's admission that a British official had visited Lhasa in October will be taken by some as further evidence that the British have quietly condoned Chinese policies in Tibet. The visit, apparently intended to be secret but leaked to the press, came despite Foreign Office claims in mid-October that no diplomats were allowed in Lhasa.

The Minister, who had implied that the evidence presented by the peers was partisan, said that by contrast the British official reported Lhasa to be generally calm and economically thriving.

Lord Reay refused to answer a question about the propriety of quoting evidence gathered by a team led by MP Robert Adley, described by Lord Avebury as "a well-known advocate and friend" of China who had supported Chinese actions in Tiananmen Square.

Adley, a former director of Holiday Inn, is also rumoured to have business link in Lhasa. The team is believed to have spent just three days in Tibet, without the benefit of a Tibetan speaker amongst them, and is likely to have been accompanied by Chinese officials at all time.

The MPs, the first Western dignitaries to have visited Tibet since martial law was imposed there in March 1989, held meetings with senior Chinese officials during their visit, despite the ban on high-level links imposed by the EC Governments after the June 4th massacres.

There were no speakers from amongst the 1,000 or so eligible to enter the debate who spoke in favour of the Chinese occupation, nor any who were present to support British Government policies towards China. Three of the speakers spoke unequivocally of Tibet's right to independence, and all of the speakers were in favour of the Government establishing friendly relations with the Dalai Lama.

The debate is the first to be held on Tibet in the British Parliament for many years, and was remarkable for its cross-party solidarity and for the support voiced for self-determination as well as human rights for Tibetans.

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## **TEXT OF THE DREPUNG GROUP MANIFESTO**

[TIN Ref. Doc 6(J)]

6 pages, cyclostyled, in fast cursive (kyuk) script

Received London from Lhasa Feb 1989 approx.

Political leaflet,

Produced by Drepung Group before their arrest]

### **The Meaning of the Democratic Constitution of Tibet**

Although planning the future is a task requiring long and careful thought it is a commonplace that all human beings still continue to work to construct their future. So, if we Tibetans struggle with a determination based on truth, we need not remain always under foreign domination. For in the future we will definitely come to a position where we will enjoy secular and religious freedom through the exercise of self-determination, in accordance with international law.

The future Tibet will not be a restoration of the feudal system. Nor will it be ruled by dynasties passing power down from father to son, nor by a series of fiefdoms or local princes. The future Tibet will remove the bad things of the old society. It will be a democratic country based on secular and religious principles.

To guide the Tibetan people His Holiness the Dalai Lama, in accordance with international standards, has promulgated a constitution. This constitution is based on the UN Declaration of Human Rights, on the true teachings of the Buddha, on the right to self-determination, and on the

international laws guaranteeing self-determination.

In the constitution of the future Tibet there will be no discrimination between poor and rich, between man and woman, between monk and layperson. neither will there be discrimination based on differences of birth or birthplace, of religion or language. The constitution will forbid inhumane treatment, and slavery, and it will bring an end to forcing people to work without payment. This constitution guarantees the right to work wherever one wishes and the right to join any society or association. It will guarantee freedom of speech, freedom of movement, the right to free debate, the right to life, freedom of assembly, freedom of religion, and freedom of thought.

The constitution will establish a strong basis for the development of democracy and for the development of a society based on the people and the free will of the people.

What is a democracy based on secular and religious principles? In order to understand this one must understand the meaning of the word democracy - MANG-TSO in Tibetan. For example, the word MANG - the people - does not refer to sections of society with power or to different classes in society or to particular small groups in society. It means the people as a whole. This is the essence of the idea, the source of truth of democracy. In other words, when you refer to Tibetans as a people it means all the people from all 3 provinces of Tibet.

The second part of the word MANG-TSO [gtso] means to regard the wishes of the people of the three provinces as the most important thing. This must be understood. It means that a democratic social system takes the wishes of the people as paramount.

Under this constitution people can express their own wishes without fear and they can exercise their rights. But in order to progress in the future one has to establish a political and social system according to the wishes of the people. These systems are not established by power but by deputies who are given their power by the people. The deputies are chosen by the people from a group of candidates who will also have been chosen by the people. As for the Government, it will also be democratic. For example, major decisions will be made by the Tibetan Working Committee, which is convened by the deputies. Similarly, for example, in the co-operatives in the settlements decisions will be made by the deputies elected by the people in the area.

Such a system is not only suitable for the current situation but also runs close to the principles of Buddhism. For all of these reasons the future Tibetan Government will be a people's government based on secular and religious principles. Today's democratic procedures should be based on the actual situation in Tibet, just as the future constitution will be.

In order to practice democracy and to enjoy equality one must understand the meaning of democracy. Democracy does not mean that one can do whatever one likes without distinction between head and tail. Neither does it mean that it is right to demand rights without fulfilling duties.

In short, in order to enjoy the rights guaranteed by the constitution, in order to have Tibetan affairs decided by Tibetans, and in order for Tibet to be administered by Tibetans, we must remind ourselves that our present task is to fight by every means, boldly and with inner strength, to restore our Tibetan freedom.

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